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The Sarcophagus of Tja-nefer

The article investigates the inner sarcophagus of the priest of Ruti, Tja-nefer, who lived during the XXV–XXVI Dynasties in the south of the country, most probably in Thebes. The coffin bears abstracts from the 42nd Chapter of the Book of the Dead and is decorated with many figures of anthropomorphous gods. Of particular interest is the record of a very rare epithet of the god Thot (“foremost in the temple of hearing”) and the southern influences to the list of deities.

KEYWORDS

Sarcophagus | coffin | XXV–XXVI Dynasties | priest of Ruti | 42nd Chapter of the Book of the Dead

Necmi Erdoğan

31–51

The Vicissitudes of Folk Narratives in Republican Turkey: The “People,” National Pedagogy, and Grotesque Laughter

The article examines the attempts to modernize folk narratives in Turkey, with a special emphasis on the ones characterized by grotesque imagery, including shadow theatre and Keloğlan tales. During the 1930s, the early Republican regime launched a project aimed at employing folk narratives in the service of its Kemalist national pedagogy. This study argues that the transposition of humorous folk narratives was bound to fail because of the incongruity between the “cheerful folk word” and the “dismal official word.” The study also analyzes the later adaptations of Keloğlan tales and transfigurations of Keloğlan, and argues that they followed the early Republican project insofar as ideological discourses speak in and through them. It asserts that despite all attempts to suppress the grotesque elements of the folk tradition of laughter, these have permeated into modern popular culture.

KEYWORDS

Turkey | folk narratives | laughter | shadow theatre | Keloğlan | grotesque

Articles appearing in *Archiv orientální* are abstracted and indexed in

America: History and Life

Annual Egyptological Bibliography

Česká národní bibliografie (Czech National Bibliography)

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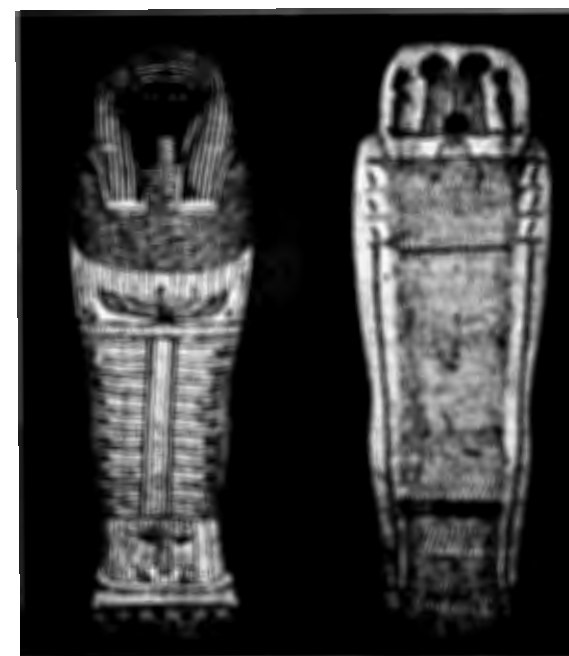
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The Sarcophagus of Tja-nefer¹

Andrei Nikolaev

There are several dozen sarcophagi, along with their fragments, in the collection of the Hermitage, dating back to different epochs of Egyptian history. The oldest of them were constructed during the Middle Kingdom but the bulk of them belong to the period after the New Kingdom, i.e., to the XXI–XXX Dynasties. Examples of items which hold most importance in revealing the process of development of this type of Egyptian monument, as well as those which are in the best condition and are most attractive from an artistic point of view, have always been on display in the Winter Palace as part of the permanent exhibition of the Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt. Since 2013, after the opening of the new Restoration and Storage center of the museum, it has been possible to expand the permanent public exhibition of Ancient Egypt and include in it the sarcophagus of the priest Tja-nefer.



¹ This article was written with the financial support provided by Saint Petersburg State University (No. 2.38.525.2013).

This sarcophagus (inv. no. ДБ-779) consists of two wooden – upper and lower anthropomorphous sections (the max. length is 192.5 cm), connected by pins and covered both inside and outside by paint on plaster. A thorough analysis of the wood has not yet been conducted but sycamore was most frequently used in the mass production of sarcophagi.²

The sarcophagus exhibits a kind of pedestal; there is a small protrusion running from the shoulders to the legs in the middle of the rear side. Inscriptions and drawings only appear on the outer sides; from inside, the only color used is white. The upper part represents a dark red human face, framed by long, wide locks and a painted beard. The upper part of the breast is covered with a drawing imitating a necklace. Below, we can observe the following: twelve short vertical columns of text; a depiction of a sitting winged goddess, Nut; horizontal and vertical columns of text in the middle; forty columns of text on the sides of the coffin (twenty on each side of the central one). There are also texts and drawings on the head (four columns, a standing Nut, the sun-disk with two uraeuses and two similar inscriptions), on the feet of the coffin (ten columns, two symmetrically positioned *udjat*-eyes, a pair of jackals [Anubises], lying on a postament), and on its soles (four columns). There is a depiction of a *djed*-pillar covering the whole of the back, from the head to the soles of the feet, with a complicated *atef*-crown bound by two uraeuses in the upper part; the inner part of the *djed*-pillar being filled with net-like ornamentation. All inscriptions and depictions are made on the white background of the sarcophagus.

The coffin is mentioned in two works: in the description of Egyptian antiquities in the museum of Russia and Finland, by J. Lieblein,³ and in the catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the Hermitage, by W. Golénischeff.⁴ J. Lieblein provides translation of a fragment from the central part of the inscription and declares it to be a part of the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead (partially reproducing it in Table VIII, № 25); on several pages the author analyzes specific syntactic constructions (the subject – the preposition *m* – the object) which are used several times in the text. W. Golénischeff pays more attention to the general description of the coffin, naming several gods who appear on it and also refers to the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead.

Before being transferred to the Hermitage in 1881, the coffin was held in the collection of the Egyptian Museum of the Academy of Science; while there J. Lieblein conducted an investigation of it. It was impossible to reconstruct the history of this object's acquisition by the Academy of Science (there is a slight

² R. Gale, P. Gasson, N. Hepper, G. Killen, "Wood," 340–41.

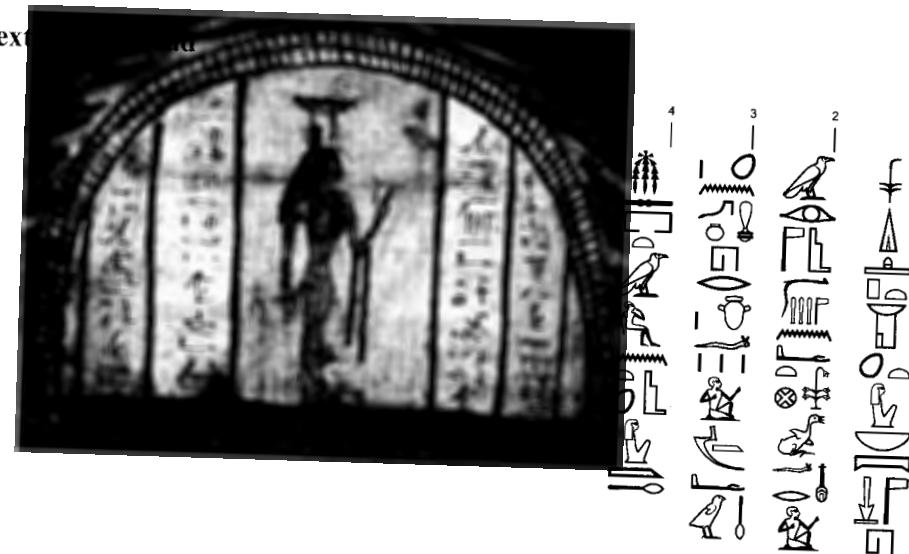
³ Jens Lieblein, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen*, 38–43.

⁴ Wladimir Golénischeff, *Ermitage Imperial: inventaire de la collection égyptienne*, 110–11.

possibility that it was presented by a Greek merchant, Anastasios Averoff).⁵ What one can say for sure is that it was not purchased as part of the Castiglione collection: if we believe the inventory list, apart from the children, there were only two mummies in sarcophagi, one of a woman and one of a man. The description of the one belonging to the man has nothing in common with the decorated coffin of Tja-nefer.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE SARCOPHAGUS

Text



Inscriptions on the upper part:

1. *hṯp dj nj-sw.t nb.t-ḥw.t nb(.t) pt snṯr h3*
 2. *Wsṯr imj-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr n šm^c.j t3-nfr*
 3. *s3 n mj nw hr-ib=f m3^c-ḥrw*
 4. *ms(.w) [nb.t]-pr t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-ḥrw*
1. A boon which the king gives (to) Nephtys, Lady of heaven (in) incense. O,
 2. Osiris, overseer of priests of Upper Egypt, Tja-nefer
 3. son (of) Her-ib-ef (of) equal rank, true of voice,
 4. born to [the lady] of the house Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice.

⁵ Ibid., v.

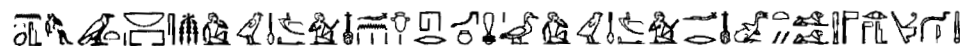
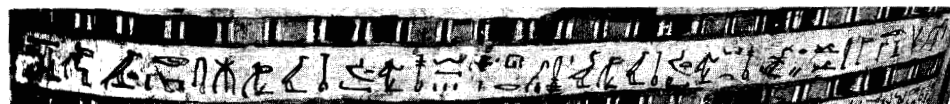
Inscriptions on the lower part:

1. *Bhd.ty^{a)}*
2. *Bhd.ty*

1. (Horus)-Behdet
2. (Horus)-Behdet



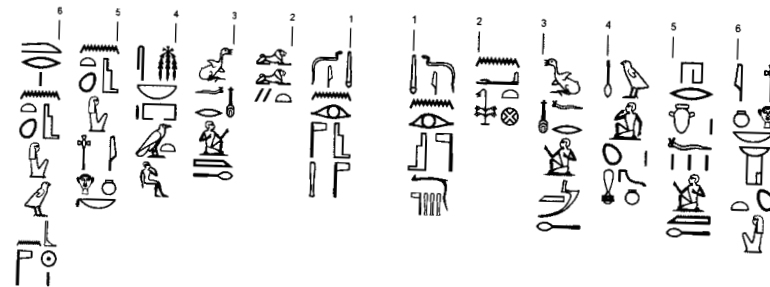
The central part of the breast; the horizontal line below the winged goddess



1. *ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr ḥm-nṯr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-ḥrw s3 mj nw hr-ib=f m3^c-ḥrw ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t*

1. Words spoken by Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice, son (of) Her-ib-ef, true of voice (of) equal rank, born to the lady of the house Ta-sherit-net-aset.

Columns of text to the right and to the left of the head of the winged goddess



Text to the right:

1. *ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr imj-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr*
2. *n šm^c.j*
3. *t3-nfr m3^c-ḥrw*
4. *s3 mj nw*
5. *hr-ib=f m3^c-ḥrw*
6. *ind-ḥr=k nb.t-ḥw.t*

1. Words spoken by Osiris, overseer of priests
2. of Upper Egypt
3. Tja-nefer, true of voice
4. son (of)
5. Her-ib-ef, true of voice, (of) equal rank.
6. Nephtys greets you

Text to the left:

1. *ḏd-mdw jn Wsjr ḥm-nṯr*
2. *Rw.tj*
3. *t3-nfr m3^c-ḥrw*
4. *ms(.w) nb.t-pr t3-šrj(.t)-*
5. *n(.t)-3s.t ind-ḥr=k*
6. *m r3 n(.j) 3s.t wbn^{c)} R^c(.w)*

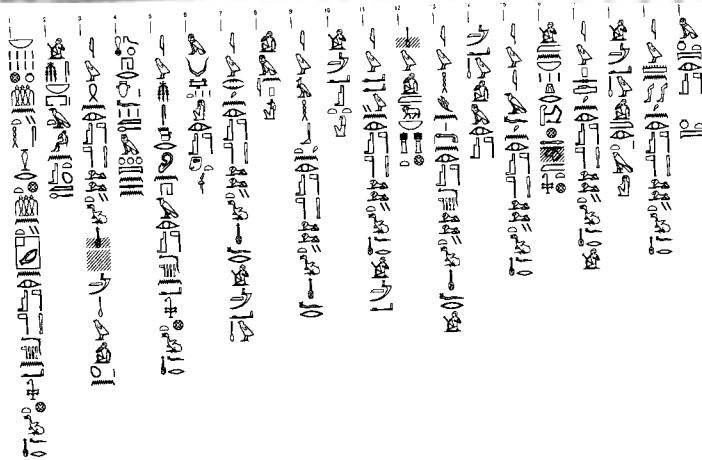
1. Words spoken by Osiris, the priest
2. (of) /god/ Ruti
3. Tja-nefer, true of voice,
4. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset.
5. The mouth of Isis greets you
6. (when) Ra rises.

Vertical column in the center of the lid

1. *hṭp dj nj-sw.t Wsjr hnty-imn.ty^w ntr 3^c nb 3bd.w dj=f pr nb hr wdḥ.w n k3 n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj imj-r3 ḥm.w-ntr šm^c.j t3-nfr*

1. Boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, great god, lord of Abydos. He gives coming out (of) all [offerings] on the offering-table to the ka of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti, overseer of priests of Upper Egypt Tja-nefer.

Vertical columns on the left side of the coffin



1. *nb ḥmn.w^c hnt.j hsr.tⁿ hnty-ḥw.t-sdm^g n Wsjr ḥm-ntr imj-r3 ḥm.w-ntr n šm^c.j t3-nfr*
 2. *ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-ḥrw*

3. *iw šnj Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr [...] m3^c-ḥrw s3 n(.j)*
 4. *mj nw hr-ib=f m3^c-ḥrw m Nwn^{h, i}*
 5. *iw msdr(.wj)^j n h3^k Wsjr imj-r3 ḥm.w-ntr n šm^c.j t3-nfr*
 6. *m wp-w3.wt Wsjr hnty-imn.ty^w*
 7. *iw sp.tj n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-ḥrw*
 8. *m Tnp.w*
 9. *iw nḥb.t n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr*
 10. *m3^c-[ḥrw] 3s.t*
 11. *iw ^c.wj^j n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-*
 12. *ḥrw m B3-nb-ḡd.t^m*
 13. *iw hnn n(.j) Wsjr imj-r3 ḥmw-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr*
 14. *m3^c-ḥrw m Wsjr*
 15. *iw iw^f n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr*
 16. *m nb.w hr.j-^ch3^o 3-šfy.t-m-šm^g*
 17. *iw psd n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr*
 18. *m3^c-ḥrw m^u ir.t-ḥr.w*
 19. *iw mn.(t)j n(.j) Wsjr ḥm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr*
 20. *m Nw.t Wsjr Nw.t*

1. Lord of Hermopolis, foremost in the necropolis of Hermopolis, foremost in the "temple-of-hearing," to Osiris, the priest, overseer of priests of Upper Egypt Tja-nefer,
 2. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice.
 3. And the hair of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer [...], true of voice, the son (of)
 4. Her-ib-ef, true of voice, (of) equal rank is Nun.
 5. And the ears of Osiris, overseer of priests of Upper Egypt Tja-nefer is
 6. Wepwawet, Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners.
 7. And the lips of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice is
 8. Anubis.
 9. And the neck of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer
 10. true of voice is Isis.
 11. And the arms of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer true of
 12. voice is Ba-neb-djedet.
 13. And the phallus of Osiris, overseer of priests of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer
 14. true of voice is Osiris.
 15. And the flesh of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer
 16. are the lords of Kheraha, the Great of Dignity in Upper Egypt.
 17. And the spine of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer
 18. true of voice is the eye of Horus.

19. And the thighs of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer
20. is Nut, Osiris, Nut.

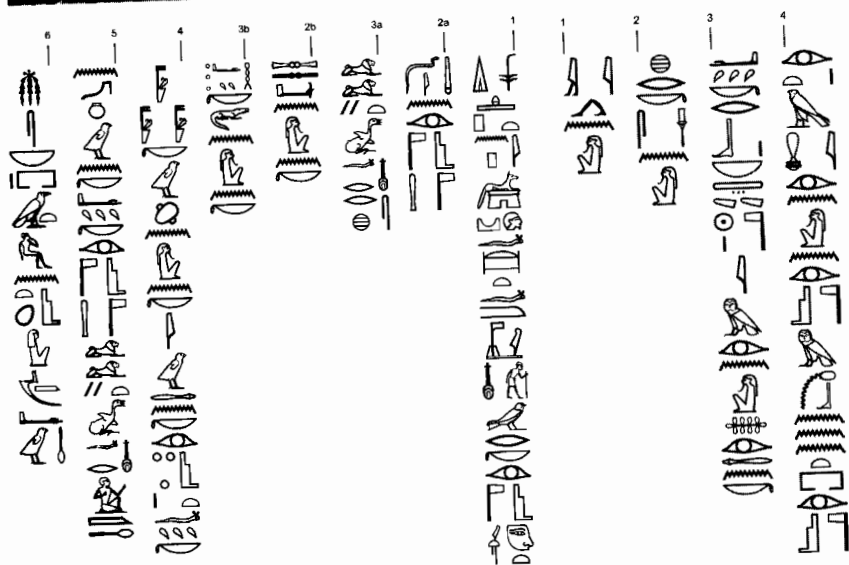
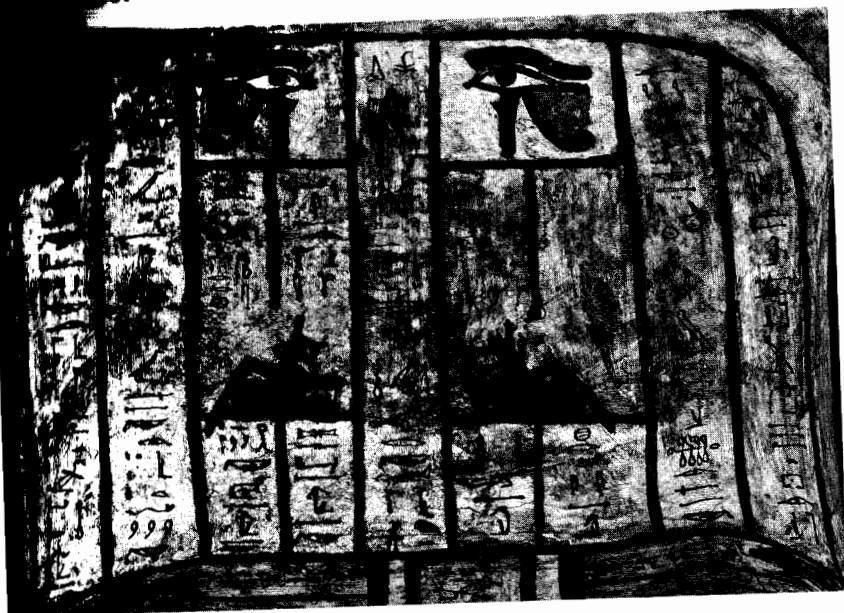
Vertical columns on the right side of the sarcophagus



1. *iw hr n(.j) Wsjr imj-r3 hm.w-ntr n šm^c t3-nfr.w (sic!) m3^c-hrw s3 mj nw hr-
lb=f*
2. *ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m hw.t-hrw*
3. *iw fnd n(.j) Wsjr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-hrw s3 n(.j) mj nw*
4. *hr-lb=f m hnty-hmⁿ*
5. *iw ibh.w n(.j) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-hrw*
6. *ms(.w) t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-hrw m hnty-hm*
7. *iw ibh.w^s n(.j) Wsjr imj-r3 hm.w-ntr n šm^c t3-nfr m3^c-hrw*
8. *ms(.w) t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-hrw m sr(k).t*
9. *iw šn^c n(.j) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-hrw*
10. *ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m Nj.t nb(.t) s3w*
11. *iw psdⁿ n(.j) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-hrw*

12. *ms(.w) t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-hrw (m) šm^c.w^u*
13. *iw šnb.tⁿ n(.j) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-(hrw)*
14. *ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-šrj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-hrw m nb.w hr.j-^ch3*
15. *iw h.t.j3.t^w n(.j) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-(hrw)*
16. *m šhm.t*
17. *iw rd.wj n(.j) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-(hrw)*
18. *m Pth m3^c*
19. *iw db^c.w ks.w n(.w) Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-*
20. *hrw m {m}^x Tr.t n^h.wt^y*

1. And the face of Osiris, overseer of priests of Upper Egypt Cha-nefru, true of voice, the son of Her-ib-ef, (of) equal rank,
2. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, is Hathor.
3. And the nose of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice, the son of
4. Her-ib-ef, (of) equal rank, is the Foremost in Letopolis.
5. And the teeth of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice,
6. born to the lady of the house Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice are the Foremost of Letopolis.
7. And the teeth of Osiris, overseer of priests of Upper Egypt Tja-nefer, true of voice,
8. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice is Serqet.
9. And the breast of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice,
10. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice is Neit lady of Sais.
11. And the spine of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice,
12. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice is Upper Egypt (?)
13. And the chest of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice,
14. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice are the lords of Kheraha.
15. And the belly and the spine of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice
16. is Sekhmet.
17. And the legs of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice
18. is Ptah truly!
19. And the fingers, the bones of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of
20. voice is living Uraeus.



Left side:

1. *htp dj-nj-sw.t Inp.w tpy-dw=f krs.t(w)=f m hr.t-ntr i3w(.t) nfr(.t)²⁾ wr=k^{aa)}
Wsjr hnty-imn.tyw*
- 2a. *dd-mdw jn Wsjr hm-ntr*
- 3a. *Rw.tj t3-nfr^{bb)} srwh(.n=j)^{cc)}*
- 2b. *ts.n=j^{dd)} n=k*
- 3b. *h^c.w=k s3k.n=j n=k*
4. *ks.w=k wt.n=j n=k iwj^{ee)}=k^{ff)} Wsjr it=f h^c.w=k (?)^{gg)}.*
5. *nwj n=k ^c.w=k Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.tj t3-nfr m3^c-hrw*
6. *ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-srj(.t)-n(.t)-3s.t m3^c-hrw*

1. A boon which the king gives (to) Anubis, who is on his mountain, so that he would be buried in necropolis. Good old age to Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners!
- 2a. Words spoken by Osirs, the priest of
- 3a. /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer. I treated (?) ...
- 2b. I joined for you
- 3b. your body, I assembled for you
4. your bones. I bandaged for you your flesh [obscure place]
5. (I) returned to you parts of your body, Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice,
6. born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice.

Right side:

1. *jy.n=j*
2. *hr=k shm.n=j*
3. *h^c.w=k r b(.w) nb t3 R^c(.w) im.w irj.n=j s3^{hh)} ^c3 n=k [m]*
4. *irj.t-hr.w mj irj.n=j n Wsjr m w^cb.t Wsjr*

1. I came
2. for you, I prevailed
3. (over) parts of your body for every place of the earth where there is Ra. I provided great protection for you [in]
4. the eye of Horus like I made for Osiris in the place of embalmment of Osiris.

AFV

on the sides



Right side:

1. *dd-mdw jn 3s.t-wr(.t) mw.t-ntr-(n.t)-ntr.w-nb.w h3 Wsjr hm-ntr Rw.ty t3-nfr*
2. *m3^c-hrw ms(.w) nb(.t)-pr t3-srj(.t)-n.t-3s.t m3^c-hrw nⁱⁱ)*

1. Words spoken by great Isis, goddess mother of all gods. O, Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer
2. true of voice, born to the lady of the house, Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice.

Left side:

1. *hup dj-nj-sw.t R^c(.w)-hr.w-3h.tj ntr-3 hry-ntr.w prj m 3h.t tm nb-t3.wj-*
2. *Twnw dj=f pr.t-hrw (m) k3 3pd sntr irp ir.t ih.wt nb(.wt) nfr(.wt)*

1. A boon which the king gives (to) Ra-Horakhty, great god, who is upon gods, going out of the horizon, Atum Lord of Two lands and
2. Heliopolis so that he may give an invocation offering (of) oxen, fowl, incense, wine, milk and all good things.

COMMENTS

General observations: the hieroglyphic text is written in one hand, determinatives are often omitted, reduced forms prevail, paired parts of the body are often given in singular forms, in several places the orientation of signs is wrong.

a) Literally: He of Behdet. The name of the Horus of Behdet, supplemented by symbols: the sun with two snakes around it. For a similar decoration of the head of a sarcophagus, see, for instance, Kitchen.⁶ For more information, see Otto,⁷ Gardiner⁸ and Leitz.⁹

b) The only place where the name of the father of Tja-nefer is written in a different way. There are two signs at the end that do not occur elsewhere (ⲙ, ⲙⲙ): ⲙⲙⲙⲙⲙⲙ and ⲙⲙⲙⲙⲙⲙ. This may be a fuller form, however, not mentioned by H. Ranke.¹⁰

c) See parallels, for instance, gathered by Gauthier.¹¹

d) LGG, II, 557.

e) LGG, III, 716.

f) LGG, V, 843.

g) LGG, V, 839. Of particular interest is the toponym mentioned while enumerating the epithets of the god Thoth. Inside the rectangular sign *hw.t*, one can see another one, which is definitely a cursive form of the hieroglyph ⲙ «ear»-*sdm*,¹² so that the meaning of the full epithet should be *hnty-hw.t-sdm*, “foremost in the temple of hearing” or *hnty-hw.t-jdn* “foremost of the temple of ear.”¹³ The only known parallel is

⁶ Kenneth Kitchen, *Catálogo da Coleção do Egito Antigo existente no Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro / Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro. Preparado com a colaboração da Maria da Conceição Beltrao*. Volume I: Texto / Text: 151; Volume II: Ilustrações / Plates: 144.

⁷ Eberhardt Otto, “Behedet,” 683.

⁸ Alan Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite.”

⁹ LGG I, 814.

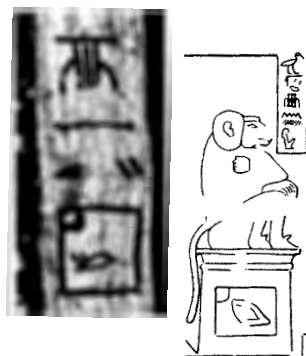
¹⁰ Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 230, no. 5, 15.

¹¹ Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, 186 (line 35), 341.

¹² Ursula Verhoeven, *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*, F21.

¹³ LGG V, 829.

the temple of Thoth in the Kharga
by the head of the Metropolitan
Davies, in 1953.¹⁴ In one
a *behnm* is sitting on a pedestal, the
of which is decorated as a hieroglyph Hwt,
our inside. It is obvious that the text on the
coffin is the second example of this unique
eponym and, interestingly, dates from much earlier.
No far, there is no clear explanation as to why this
very rare epithet was chosen from the dozens of more
commonly available ones of Thoth by Tja-nefer or those who carved and painted his
sarcophagus and who definitely lived in the south of the country.



h) The beginning of the abstract from the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead: the enumeration of the parts of the body of the dead and the corresponding names of the gods. There is no doubt therefore that we should read Nun (*Nwn*) at the end of this phrase, which is in fact written incorrectly: with the middle *n* replaced by *s* . The word “hair,” *šnj*, also has a reduced form without a determinative.

i) Read more about this type of adverbial sentence, made by the scheme S – m S, in the Grammar by K. Jansen-Winkel.¹⁵ The same syntactic construction is used many times below.

j) Judging by the way this place is written, this is a singular form. Nevertheless, one should consider this as a reduced form and translate as a duality, which is based on parallel places in the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead and through reference to simple logic.

k) Most probably, the “superfluous” exclamation particle *h3*. Cf. column 1 of the text from the head (upper lid).

l) For more information about the particular features of the dual form of this word, see the work by K. Jansen-Winkel.¹⁶

¹⁴ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in el Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration*, pl. 2, register VII.

¹⁵ Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*, 425, Tabelle 5; S. 333, § 531.

¹⁶ Ibid., 94–95. §§ 147–48.

m) LGG, II, 683.

n) Possibly a mistake: instead of the “standard” *w* there is *3*.

o) LGG, III, 818.

p) Damaged place in the text, cf. Leitz.¹⁷ If the proposed reconstruction is correct, this is an epithet of Sobek,¹⁸ with the Upper Egyptian, namely Theban, influence: *3-šfyt-m-šm*, i.e., “Great of Dignity in Upper Egypt.”



q) The sign is reversed.

r) LGG, V, p. 846.

s) The sign *f* in this word seems to be superfluous and written by mistake. The writing is similar to that in the fifth column except for one hieroglyph.

t) The form of the “spine” hieroglyph in this place is rather unusual:




u) When reading the text and comparing it with the nearby pictures it is obvious that in several cases the name of the god in the vertical column does not correspond to the picture of the god below it (this is also true for the papyri inscribed with the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead¹⁹). For instance, the name of Hathor is written in the first column, while the picture is of anthropomorphous Ra with the sun disk drawn below. This variance between the text and illustration brings about an uncertainty in the identification of the god on the right hand side of the sarcophagus, whose name is written just by one sign, most probably *šm*. It stands after the phrase “... 11. And the spine of Osiris, the priest of /god/ Ruti Tja-nefer, true of voice, 12. Born by Ta-sherit-net-aset, true of voice is (Upper Egypt) (?)” The problem is that the god *šm* is not known to






¹⁷ LGG I, 44–45.




¹⁸ Cf. LGG I, 45, k).

¹⁹ Mykola Tarasenko, “Development of illustrative tradition of the chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead,” 337.

omitted in the ancient Egyptian pantheon until the Ptolemaic and Roman periods of Egyptian history.²⁰ Even during that epoch the god *šm*^c is recorded only once and in another form: with the “bread”-sign  and the “town”-determinative  after the *šm*^c plant . Moreover, this inscription is located near the figure of the Nile-god whose head is decorated with the same *šm*^c plant. As far as the sign from the Tja-nefer coffin is concerned other phonetic meanings can be offered, not only *šm*^c. These include: *rsj*,²¹ *sw*, *nn*, *njb*, *njswt*, *swt*, *s*.²² It is not possible to be definitive as the sign stands completely alone and the picture of the god may not be connected with it. A search for analogues in the parallel texts in which parts of the body are compared with the gods does not bring the expected result. There was no strict correlation between the spine of the deceased and any deity, but most frequently it is compared with the goddess Sokhmet and not with the enigmatic *šm*^c (or *rsj*, or *njswt*), as, for instance, in the P. Turin, 1791, published by K. Lepsius,²³ or with Seth, for instance, as in the papyrus of Nu (P. BM 10477), published by G. Lapp.²⁴ This suggests a deliberate change in the standard text under the influence of local Upper Egyptian traditions.

Another possible explanation for this complicated place is that the sign  is an epithet to the omitted name of a god. In this case the general sense is the following: “... (god X) of Upper Egypt” (proposed by Dr. A. O. Bolshakov).

v) This word is written with the sign  *sn*, although a more common variant is *šnb.t* with the hieroglyph . Cf. the database of the Berlin Dictionary.²⁵

w) The sign  *n* between the  *t* and the determinative seems to be “superfluous”: .

x) The preposition *m* is written twice.

y) LGG, I, 140. For a close analogue to this reading, see, for instance, Taylor.²⁶

²⁰ LGG VII, p. 80.

²¹ Cf. LGG IV, 721.

²² Daumas, F., ed., *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine I-IV*, 421–22.

²³ Richard Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin / mit einem Vorworte zum ersten Male hrsg. von R. Lepsius*, Nr. 42, Taf. XIX.

²⁴ Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BME 10477)*, pl. 16–17.



²⁵ Dokument DZA 30.176.020 and further: [http://aaww.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/DzaBrowser?START.x=29&START.y=117&newpid=DZA+30.176.030&dispscale=100&set=EM&wn=156060&las.tpid=30176030&wid=0 – accessed 09.12.2013].



²⁶ John H. Taylor, “The coffin of Padiashaikhet,” 273.



z) For more on this expression, its meaning and variants of translation, see the recent article by A. Bolshakov.²⁷

aa) This seems to be a scribal mistake: the pronoun *=k* in this place is superfluous. Most probably, *k* is written incorrectly instead of *=k*. Moreover, one would expect to see the preposition *hr* in this place, which seems to be omitted here. The full reconstruction would be the following: ...*šw(.t) nfr(.t) wr(.t) hr Wsjr hnty-imn.tyw*. For more about the offering formula during the XXV–XXVI Dynasties, see the work by Barta.²⁸

bb) There is no determinative and epithet “true of voice” after the proper name Tja-nefer.

cc) With a high degree of probability, this is a reduced variant of the verb *srwh*  “cure,” “treat,”²⁹ which is written without a determinative and any grammatical indicators. For a parallel, see, for instance, Gauthier:³⁰ , where the actions by Anubis are described by this verb. Possibly, the depiction of Anubis on the feet of the Hermitage coffin is an indication to the agent whose deeds are described by the verb *srwh*. The text after *srwh* is lost.

dd) On the peculiarities of writing and the usage of the *sdm.n=f* form in the Late period texts, see K. Jansen-Winkel.³¹ The form of the sign for the personal pronoun is closer to A1 – , than to A40 – , but the fact that the words are spoken by Anubis favors the latter choice.

ee) In this place the sign  should be read as  with the most logical and reliable understanding as: ...*wt.n=j n=k iwf=k* “...I bandaged for you your flesh...”

ff) Literally: ...*wt.n=j n=k iwf n=k* “I bandaged for you flesh for you.” The proposed translation is made with the omission of the final *n*: *iwf=k* instead of *iwf n=k*.

²⁷ Андрей Большаков, “Очень добрая старость.”



²⁸ Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 185–202.

²⁹ Hildegard von Deines, and Wolfhart Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte. Zweite Hälfte (h-D)*, 775.

³⁰ Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, 437, Nr. 4.

³¹ Karl Jansen-Winkel, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*, 67–69. §§ 102–5.

gg) Unclear place. Most probably, it is an insertion in a standard and frequently spoken formula by Anubis. Several signs may possibly indicate the mentioning of Osiris and, presumably, “a father” (by flesh) (?). Parallels to the words spoken by Anubis are numerous.³²

hh) Possibly, a scribal mistake: the sign “eye”  is superfluous. This hieroglyph stands between the noun and the adjective (“...I made *great protection* for you” ...*irj.n=j s3 3 n=k...*), breaking this phrase: . The phonetic meaning *s3* for the “eye” hieroglyph is not recorded,³³ neither are there parallels with similar forms for this standard and widely used formula.

ii) Most probably, this is a mistake with the *n* being superfluous.

CHAPTER 42 OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD AND ITS RECORDS ON SARCOPHAGI

The bulk of the text on the coffin is an enumeration of the body parts of Tja-nefer, which are named after gods. It is quite obvious that by such a deification of his members the deceased wished to become a full and complete deity in the afterlife. This idea is reflected in a number of texts starting from the final dynasties of the Old Kingdom. Several passages containing a description of the process of deification of the king's body parts can be found in Spells 215³⁴ and 539³⁵ of the Pyramid Texts, while its general concept can be traced to Spells 761³⁶ and 945³⁷ of the Coffin Texts. In the New Kingdom this idea was cultivated in the Litany of Ra,³⁸ and in the 42nd

chapter of the Book of the Dead,³⁹ which was mentioned by A. Piankoff⁴⁰ and T. Allen.⁴¹ One should keep in mind that although such texts were widely used on papyri and on the tomb stelae during the New Kingdom,⁴² the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead is not recorded on sarcophagi until the XXV Dynasty. Moreover, even after the XXV Dynasty, if we are speaking about the sarcophagi, this chapter is very rare. I know of only 17 such cases, excluding the coffin of Tja-nefer.⁴³

1. The sarcophagus of Padiashaihet (*P3-dj-583-ih.t*) from the Nicholson Museum (Inv. no. R28), Sydney.⁴⁴ The beginning or the middle of the XXV Dynasty. Thebes. Wood.

2. The inner coffin of Irbastwedjanefu from the Musée de l'Opéra⁴⁵ (Inv. no. 17), outer coffin of the same woman from the Louvre (Inv. no. E 3872), Paris.⁴⁶ The beginning or the middle of the XXV Dynasty. Thebes. Wood.

3. The cartonnage of Pakharenkhons. The beginning or the middle of the XXV Dynasty. Thebes. Deir-el-Bahari. Secondary use of the tomb of Mentuhotep II (No. 832). The photograph of the object as well as its history and the list of other pieces connected with this burial are available in Taylor's article.⁴⁷

4. The sarcophagus of Nespanetjerenpare from the Brooklyn museum (Inv. no. 35.1265), New York. The beginning or the middle of the XXV Dynasty⁴⁸ (the dating by Taylor is different when compared with that provided in the website of the Brooklyn museum). Thebes. Wood.

5. The sarcophagus of Horenpe.⁴⁹ The current location is unknown. Thebes. Tomb TT99. Circa 12th year of rule by Taharka (c. 678 BC). Wood.

³⁹ Stephen Quirke, *Going out in daylight - prt m hrw: the ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead; translation, sources, meaning*, 118–21; Claude Carrier, *Le Livre des Morts de l'Égypte ancienne*, 173–78.

⁴⁰ Alexandre Piankoff, *The litany of Re. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 4, 38.

⁴¹ Thomas Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: ideas of the ancient Egyptians concerning the hereafter as expressed in their own terms*, 48–49.

⁴² Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings. Horizon of Eternity*, 56–57.

⁴³ Cf. Mykola Tarasenko, “Development of illustrative tradition of the chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead,” 333.

⁴⁴ John H. Taylor, “The coffin of Padiashaikhet.”

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁴⁶ PM I², p. 647.

⁴⁷ John H. Taylor, “The coffin of Padiashaikhet,” 280, 290, note 92, pl. 54c.

⁴⁸ The Art of Ancient Egypt. A Portfolio. Masterpieces from the Brooklyn Museum, 22, pl. 20–21; photos and annotation are available on the website of the Brooklyn museum: https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3357/Cartonnage_of_Nespanetjerenpere; bibliographical references are given in Taylor's article: John H. Taylor, “The coffin of Padiashaikhet,” 280, 290, note 91, pl. 54 a-b.

⁴⁹ Nigel Strudwick, “The Tomb of Senneferi at Thebes,” 8.

³² Kenneth Kitchen, *Catálogo da Coleção do Egito Antigo existente no Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro / Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro. Preparado com a colaboração da Maria da Conceição Beltrão*. Volume I: Texto / Text: 163; Volume II: Ilustrações / Plates: 154. Text Nr. 15; Roeder Hubert, “Kat.-Nr. 73. Sarg der Isetenkebe,” 359, 361; Peter Müller and Renate Siegmund, *Schepense. Die ägyptische Mumie der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, 49; Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastide à l'époque saïte*, Tome 1: 82.

³³ Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic lexikon: a lexicographical study of the texts in the temple of Edfu*, 88–89, 782; Dumas, F. (ed.) *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine I–IV*, 148–49.

³⁴ PT I, 85; Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Translated into English*, 42–43.

³⁵ PT II, 227–33; Raymond Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Translated into English*, 206–9.

³⁶ CT VI, 391–92.

³⁷ CT VII, 159–61.

³⁸ Alexandre Piankoff, *The litany of Re. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations* 4, 38.

6. The sarcophagus of Ankhefenhonsu (*ḥnh-f-n-ḥnsw*) in the Egyptian museum (CG 41004),⁵⁰ Cairo. XXVI Dynasty. Thebes, Deir-el-Bahari. Wood. The outer coffin is presented (in the same book) separately, under a different inventory number.⁵¹

7. The sarcophagus of Padiimen II (*P3-dj-Imn*) in the Egyptian museum (CG 41057),⁵² Cairo. XXVI Dynasty. Thebes, Deir-el-Bahari. Wood.

8. The sarcophagus of Djehutynakht (*dḥw.ty-nḥt*) in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.⁵³ The origin is unknown. XXVI Dynasty – early Ptolemaic. Limestone.

9. The sarcophagus of Itineb (*Iti-nb*) in the British museum (Inv. no. BM EA 6693), London.⁵⁴ Saqqara. Late period. Wood.

10. The sarcophagus of Padibastet (*P3-dj-B3st.t*) in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Inv. no. 16135), Philadelphia.⁵⁵ The origin is unknown. Late Period – Ptolemaic Period, XXX Dynasty. Limestone.

11. The sarcophagus of Psammeticus (*Psmṯk*) in the Egyptian museum, Cairo (J.E. 34649).⁵⁶ XXV–XXVI Dynasties. Saqqara, to the south-west of the monastery of Apa Jeremiah. Basalt.

⁵⁰ Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastide à l'époque saïte*, 1–6, 75–88, pl. XII; Jonathan Elias, *Coffin inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: a study of text production and use in elite mortuary preparation*, 790, 803; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 135425. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135425>.

⁵¹ Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque bubastide à l'époque saïte*, 75–88.

⁵² Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* Gauthier, 297–322, pl. XXI–XXII; John H. Taylor, “The sign [H] (Gardiner V28) as a dating criterion for funerary texts of the Third Intermediate Period,” 357–64; Jonathan Elias, *Coffin inscription in Egypt after the New Kingdom: a study of text production and use in elite mortuary preparation*, 536f. (IV-5), 540, 776; PM I², 644; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 135274. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135274>.

⁵³ Mogens Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt III. Coffins, Mummy Adornments and Mummies From the Third Intermediate, Late, Ptolemaic and the Roman Periods (1080 BC–AD 400)*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 248–53; Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, 78–79, fig. 40, E, b 14; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 90722. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm90722>.

⁵⁴ Web page from the museum's website: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=124454&partId=1&searchText=6693&page=1 (accessed 04.08.2014); John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 240, fig. 177; Ibid., 178–79; PM I², 829; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 135389. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm135389>.

⁵⁵ Web page from the museum's website: <http://www.penn.museum/collections/object/96305> (accessed 30.09.2013); Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, 86–89, fig. 50, E, b 23; David P. Silverman, ed., *Searching for ancient Egypt: art, architecture, and artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*, 268–69; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 90731. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm90731>.

⁵⁶ Georges Daressy, “Inscriptions du tombeau de Psametk à Saqqarah,” 17–25; Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, 32, C, a 2; PM III², pl. LXII; Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 90684. <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm90684>.

12. The sarcophagus (the lid) of Ankh-hapi (*ḥnh-ḥpj*) in the Egyptian museum (CG 29301; J.E. 17429), Cairo.⁵⁷ Ptolemaic Period. Saqqara. Granite.

13. The sarcophagus of a woman, Tanethep (*t3-n.t-ḥp*), in the Louvre (D. 39), Paris.⁵⁸ XXVI Dynasty. The origin is unknown. Basalt.

14. The sarcophagus of a man, Deskerdes (*dskrds*), in the Louvre (D. 40), Paris.⁵⁹ Ptolemaic Period. The origin is unknown. Basalt.

15. The sarcophagus of a man, Iriru (*Irj-rw*), in the British museum (EA 6695), London.⁶⁰ XXVI Dynasty. Memphis. Wood.

16. The sarcophagus of Irethoriru from the Limoges Fine Arts Museum (former Musée de l'Évêché de Limoges) (E 993), Limoges.⁶¹ End of the Late Period – Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. The origin is unknown. Wood.

17. The outer sarcophagus of Menekhibnekau.⁶² Ahmos II – the beginning of Dynasty 27. Shaft tomb of the same person at Abusir. Limestone.

18. The sarcophagus of Paefjtjauemahonsu.⁶³ The coffin was found in the 2012 field season. End of the Late Period – beginning of the Ptolemaic Period. Saqqara. From tomb “H” in the vicinity of the Djoser's Step-Pyramid. Wood. The complete burial complex was reconstructed.

The analysis of the places of origin of all the above mentioned examples of the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead lead to the conclusion that its usage began in the country's south and later spread to the north, to the Memphis region. It was in workshops serving the needs of the Theban necropolises where the 42nd chapter was placed on the sarcophagi's surface for the first time. The object from the Hermitage collection is a small addition to this rather brief list of artifacts associated with this text from the southern parts of Egypt.

⁵⁷ Gaston Maspero, *Sarcophages des époques persane et ptolémaïque*, 1–73, pl. I–V; PM III², 612.

⁵⁸ Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, 65–68 m. Fig. 31, E, a 27.

⁵⁹ Jean-Louis De Cenival, *Le Livre pour sortir le jour. Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens*, 4; Marie-Louise Buhl, *The Late Egyptian Anthropoid Stone Sarcophagi*, 105–109 m. Fig. 61, F, a 19.

⁶⁰ Web page from the museum's website: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=129217&partId=1&searchText=6695&page=1; PM I², 828.

⁶¹ Webpage from the museum's website: <http://www.museebal.fr/sarcophage-iret>; Hélène Autret, Susanne Cussel, Madeleine Fabre, Marie-Emmanuelle Meyohas, Véronique Notin, Éric Rannou, and Sylvie Watelet. *Visages d'Égypte*, 22, fig. 14.

⁶² Ladislav Bareš and Květa Smoláriková, eds., *Abusir XXV: The shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau. Volume 1, archaeology*, 56.

⁶³ Christiane Ziegler, ed., *Fouilles de Louvre à Saqqara II. Les Tombes hypogées de Basse époque I: 7, F17, H, j1, Q, n1*. Pt. 1. P. 120–30. Pt. 2. Planches. P. 50–52. Ph. 212–20.

PERSONAL NAMES ON THE SARCOPHAGUS

The proper names and the titles on the sarcophagus are not very common.

“Priest of the /god/ Ruti” must have been rather widespread in the New Kingdom and also later since the god Ruti is widely attested⁶⁴; however, we know of only a few monuments associated with it⁶⁵ (neither is it mentioned in the Al-Ayedi Index⁶⁶).

“Overseer of the priests of Upper Egypt” is a very important and prominent title, more suitable for a vizier;⁶⁷ perhaps, it is a slight overestimation of Tja-nefer’s real powers. Based on these two titles one cannot tell a lot about the social status of Tja-nefer and the specific place where he lived and fulfilled his duties.

The personal name *t3-nfr*⁶⁸ is known from four other sources of the XXV–XXVI Dynasties.

1. On the Louvre stela IM 3306 from the Serapeum, dating back to the reign of Taharka.⁶⁹ However, the name of this Tja-nefer’s father is different – Painimu (*p3-jnj-mw*), which implies that he is just his namesake and not the person from the Hermitage monument.

2. Another Tja-nefer is mentioned on the offering-table in Cairo (CG 23091). This person, however, held another title, namely as overseer of a priest of Chenty-hety (*jmj-r^c hm-ntr hnty-hty*), which yet again dismisses any possible coincidence.

3. On the Abydos stela, now in Heidelberg⁷⁰ (Nr. 563). In this case the first part of the name has not been preserved and can only be restored with a large question mark (most probably, the beginning was not *t3-* due to the shortage of place between the new register and the text⁷¹); moreover, the signs for Osiris are different when compared to those on the Hermitage coffin, which is an important dating criterion (see below). Different people once again.

4. *t3-nfr* is also mentioned on the cubic statue of the Late period (7th–2d centuries

BC) from the Egyptian museum in Cairo (JE 37354);⁷² however, the title near this name – god’s father – is absent on the Hermitage coffin of his namesake.

During the reign of the XXV Dynasty the proper name Tasheritnetaset⁷³ is known only for one woman.⁷⁴ She possessed several parts of one sarcophagus from Deir-el-Bahari, now preserved in Cairo. They are CG 41037,⁷⁵ CG 41065,⁷⁶ CG 41066.⁷⁷ Her spouse was Djedhonsuiuefankh (*dd-hns.w-iw=f-nh*) while their children, as proved by G. Vittmann, were Irtierchai and Besenmut.⁷⁸ This implies that this is another woman, not Tja-nefer’s mother.

The proper name of Tja-nefer’s father – Heribefnefer (*hr-ib=f-(nfr)*)⁷⁹ – is unique for the XXV–XXVI Dynasties and appears not to be recorded in contemporary sources.

ICONOGRAPHY

By the end of the Third Intermediate Period a sarcophagus, as was shrewdly pointed by J. Taylor,⁸⁰ became the main magical instrument for the deceased and that is why it was satiated with symbols, mainly of revival and resurrection. Special stress was placed at that time on the identification of the dead with Osiris and his rejuvenation, together with the god Ra during his nightly journey through the other world. Key elements of decoration used to express these ideas (besides constant references in the text) on the Hermitage coffin are *djed*-pillar on the back and the sun disk on the head of the winged goddess Nut, as well as this goddess

⁶⁴ LGG IV, p. 654.

⁶⁵ For instance, A. Wiedemann, “Stela at Freiburg in Baden,” 35.

⁶⁶ Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian administrative, religious and military titles of the New Kingdom*, 341.

⁶⁷ Cf. Ibid., 81, № 262; 90, № 292.

⁶⁸ Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit. Teil III: die 25. Dynastie*, 615; Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 387, Nr. 9.

⁶⁹ Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit. Teil III: die 25. Dynastie*, 196, 615.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 407, 615 (Nr. 126, Z. 3); Erika Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar: Kunstschatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg*, 100, No. 228.

⁷¹ Erika Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar: Kunstschatze Ägyptens aus pharaonischer und koptischer Zeit an der Universität Heidelberg*, 100, No. 228.

⁷² Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Biographische und religiöse Inschriften der Spätzeit aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Kairo. Teil I: Übersetzungen und Kommentare*, 77–78, 80 (Nr. 15); Teil 2: *Texte und Tafeln*, 366, Taf. 32; S. 369, Taf. 34.

⁷³ Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 368, Nr. 7.

⁷⁴ Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit. Teil III: die 25. Dynastie*, 527–28, 613; PM I², 645–46.

⁷⁵ Alexandre Moret, *Sarcophages de l’époque bubastide à l’époque saïte*, 301–12.

⁷⁶ Henri Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, 430–62, pl. 35–36.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 462–65, pl. 37.

⁷⁸ Günther Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit: Genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*, 7, 24, 28.

⁷⁹ Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 230, №5, 15; cf. J. Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inscriben der Spätzeit. Teil III: die 25. Dynastie*, 606.

⁸⁰ John H. Taylor, “The coffin of Padiashaikhet,” 265.

herself on the dead person's breast. The *djed*-pillar is one of the main Osiris symbols;⁸¹ Tja-nefer is lying on it. According to some concepts, the goddess Nut – the celestial deity – every evening swallows the sun but every morning gives birth to it, thus symbolizing eternal revival.⁸² Moreover the goddess Nut embraces the dead with her wings, giving them protection and life (corresponding symbols are on each of her wings).

Isis and Nephtys (who are on either side of Tja-nefer's breast) are usually the chief mourners in similar compositions on other coffins; however, in our case the accent is on their protective role. Each of the goddesses holds a protective ring, *šn*.


The text of the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead in the central part of the Tja-nefer's coffin is supplemented with 20 standing figures of different anthropomorphous deities. They are all of approximately the same height, their bodies are a light-green or bright brown or blue grey color, while the hair is always blue grey.⁸³ Gods are depicted in every second column in the central part of the monument, with the width of such columns being about half as much again as the columns with text only. A recent analysis of change in the illustrative material of the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead has been made by N. Tarasenko.⁸⁴ The researcher, working primarily with the papyri copies of this chapter, provides a typology of decoration for the parts where the dead person's body parts are compared with the gods.⁸⁵ Examples named as subtype B2 by the Egyptologist (i.e., the table with one text register above and vignettes below) are very close to those which are depicted on the Hermitage coffin (in spite of the differences, namely, the two columns of text above the figure of the god). This type, however, is more common during the New Kingdom, not the Late Period.⁸⁶ One should always keep in mind that the way the 42nd chapter of the Book of the Dead was presented on sarcophagi underwent significant changes over the course of time. There are no two identical variants among the eighteen known examples (including the coffin of Tja-nefer). The pose of the deities (they can sit or stand), their orientation (along the body of the dead or across, which is rare), the appearance of the deceased (and an offering table) in front of the gods, the

different text wraps around the picture (on one, two, three or four sides of it), etc. may all differ.

Some elements of the Tja-nefer's coffin decoration are traditional. They are: an idealized young face, a wide necklace with buckles on the shoulders (a protective symbol), a thin, curve to the end of the beard (a symbol of transition to the divine status), a wig painted with red and blue lines over a white background, the relative proportions of the neck (the chin is at shoulder level), a general slenderness of the figure. J. Taylor relates all these features to the *sah* concept – which describes the renewed and eternal body after all mummification rituals.⁸⁷

THE MUMMY AND SARCOPHAGUS IN THE BURIAL COMPLEX

It is impossible to identify with any certainty the present location of the Tja-nefer mummy. When the catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities of the Hermitage museum in 1891 was prepared, the embalmed body of the man was still in the *Kunstammer*.⁸⁸ According to the inventory, a mummy of an unknown man was transferred from there to the Hermitage in 1950 but there are no solid grounds for believing that this was Tja-nefer's body, because, for instance, an additional mummy of an unknown man was also moved from the *Kunstammer* to the Museum of the History of Religion; obviously, there is no thorough description of Tja-nefer's remains.

Only the inner sarcophagus of Tja-nefer has been preserved. No outer or second outer coffins of this priest exist at the museum. The inner sarcophagus might have been located at the burial site at that time in two ways. It could have been inside the so-called *qrsw*-type outer coffin (cf. the hieroglyph Q6  *krsw*/*krsw*). Its characteristic features are a roundish lid and four columns at the edges, with falcon statuettes on the top.⁸⁹ On the other hand, the inner coffin could have been placed inside several outer anthropomorphous coffins. There are no strict criteria or solid rationale which can determine why the customer chose this or that type of outer coffin; however, there is a traceable tendency for the outer *qrsw* coffin to be linked to richer burials. Which of the two variants is more probable is difficult to prove, since low quality inscriptions and pictures contradict the rather high standards of wood-work and the lengthy text on the outer surface.

⁸¹ H. Altemüller, "Djed-Pfeiler."

⁸² Günther Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu* (BMEA 10477), 283; Leonard Lesko, "Nut," 559.

⁸³ See more on the color preferences in coffin decoration in this historical period, in John H. Taylor, "Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: an overview."

⁸⁴ Mykola Tarasenko, "Development of illustrative tradition of the chapter 42 of the Book of the Dead."

⁸⁵ Ibid., 329–33.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 330–32, fig. 5.

⁸⁷ John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 17; Idem, "The coffin of Padiashaikhet," 265.


⁸⁸ Wladimir Golénischeff, *Ermitage Imperial: inventaire de la collection égyptienne*, 111.

⁸⁹ For instance, John H. Taylor, *Egyptian coffins*, 54, fig. 42; Martina Minas-Nerpel and Günther Sigmund, *Eine Ägypterin in Trier. Die ägyptische Mumie und der Sarg im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier: Ägyptologische und medizinische Untersuchungen*, 72; *The Realm of Osiris. Mummies, Coffins and Ancient Art in the Michael C. Carlos Museum*, 54.

As was mentioned above, the complete burial complex close to that of Tja-nefer, along with the full list of all ritual items, is fully reproduced in the publication by K. Ziegler.⁹⁰

DATING OF THE SARCOPHAGUS

There are two main dating criteria for coffins with unknown owners: the stylistic features of the decoration and the paleography of the inscriptions. Key elements of stylistic evolution were developed by A. Niwinski⁹¹ and J. Taylor.⁹² The following is especially important in our case: a broad overhanging wig, the use of white for the text background (in other, even very recent periods, it would have been entirely yellow or multicolored), a pedestal under the soles (this element is absent until the XXV Dynasty), a protrusion going along the back (this element is also absent until the XXV Dynasty), an elaborate and precise location for the abstracts of the Book of the Dead, with many accompanying depictions in the central part, wood, rather than cartonnage as the material for the inner coffin—all these are indications of the XXV–XXVI Dynasties.⁹³

From a paleographical point of view, one can narrow the possible dating to between the XXV and XXVI Dynasties by analyzing the specific writing of the word for Osiris, made by three signs in a very specific sequence: . As was clearly shown by Anthony Leahy in his remarkable 1979 article, this wide-spread word is not met in this particular form until the reign of the Kushite king, Piye, while its active use only starts from Taharka's rule.

The above mentioned information leads us to the conclusion that the sarcophagus might be dated from between the end of the XXV to the XXVI Dynasties (from Taharka to Psammetichus III), i.e., circa 690–525 BC.

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⁹¹ Andrzej Niwinski, "Sarg NR-SpZT," 449–55.

⁹² John H. Taylor, "Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development," 96–119; Idem, *Egyptian coffins*, 53–61.

⁹³ Idem, "Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development," 113–19; Idem, "The coffin of Padiashaikhet," 277–78.

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Abbreviations

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The Vicissitudes of Folk Narratives in Republican Turkey: The "People," National Pedagogy, and Grotesque Laughter

Necmi Erdoğan

THE SPECTER OF THE "PEOPLE" AND FOLK CULTURE

In his analysis of the nature and function of the concept of "people" in modern Western politics, Agamben speaks of a fundamental biopolitical split or a "dialectical oscillation" between the "People" as an integral body politic (*bios*) and the "people" as a fragmentary multiplicity of needy and excluded bodies (*zoe*).¹ The aporia its invocation creates stems from the fact that the people is "what cannot be included in the whole of which it is a part." On the one hand, it is presented as being without remainder and posited as the pure source of identity while, on the other hand, it is urged to redefine and purify itself. In other words, the people must negate itself through its opposite in order to be. The prominent early Republican Turkish motto of "for the people, against the people" can be seen as an instance of the aporia in question as the repetition of the term sets another "People" against the latter ("people").

Much in line with the point made by Agamben, such uses of the "people" are characterized by what Bhabha designates as a "double narrative movement"; i.e., a discursive split between the constative and the performative utterances.² Leaving aside the ways in which it appears in the political field, the oscillation between the two, in the field of cultural practices, takes the form of an ambivalent unity of the "discovery of the people" and the "invention of tradition." In his analysis of the "castrating cult of the people" as an object of folklore, de Certeau perceptively describes it through the Western metaphor of "noble savage": "The people are another Japan; their taste for music must be recultivated. They are a river; their waters should quench the thirst. And, of course, they are a woman who should be revealed as what she is."³

¹ Giorgio Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics*, 28-34.

² Homi Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 145: "The people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin in the past; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principles of the people as contemporaneity: as that sign of the present through which national life is redeemed and iterated as a reproductive process."

³ Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies. Discourse on the Other*, 125.

the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that, even though not directly focused on the reform in the province, still provide us with a good glimpse of the relationship between İstanbul and the periphery. All these works, when taken together, illustrate the clear interest of the centre in relation to the periphery, as well as the existence of a dynamic Empire where both central and local forces were bent on improvements and development. Lastly, as this book chronologically commences with the Tanzimat period, the readers would have expected a better contextualisation of the reform and changes taking place in Beirut. It is surprising that Sharif does not dwell on the Land Code of 1858 and the *Vilayet* Law of 1864, and, equally, fails to provide a broader and more balanced overview of what the Tanzimat men were attempting to achieve as a result of introducing local consultative bodies.

NOTES

- ¹ Mithat Paşa (1822–84), born Ahmed Şefik and then known as Midhat (the Laudable, for his achievements), was an Ottoman reformer, governor of a number of provinces (Niş, Tuna, Baghdad, Syria, and Aydin), Grand Vizier, and one of the drafters of the 1876 Constitution, which he convinced Sultan Abdülhamid II to sign. Later on, Mithat Paşa fell out of favour with the Sultan and was imprisoned in Taif, in the Hejaz, on false charges of having been behind the murder of a previous Sultan, Abdülaziz (1830–76). While in prison, he died a mysterious death.

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